



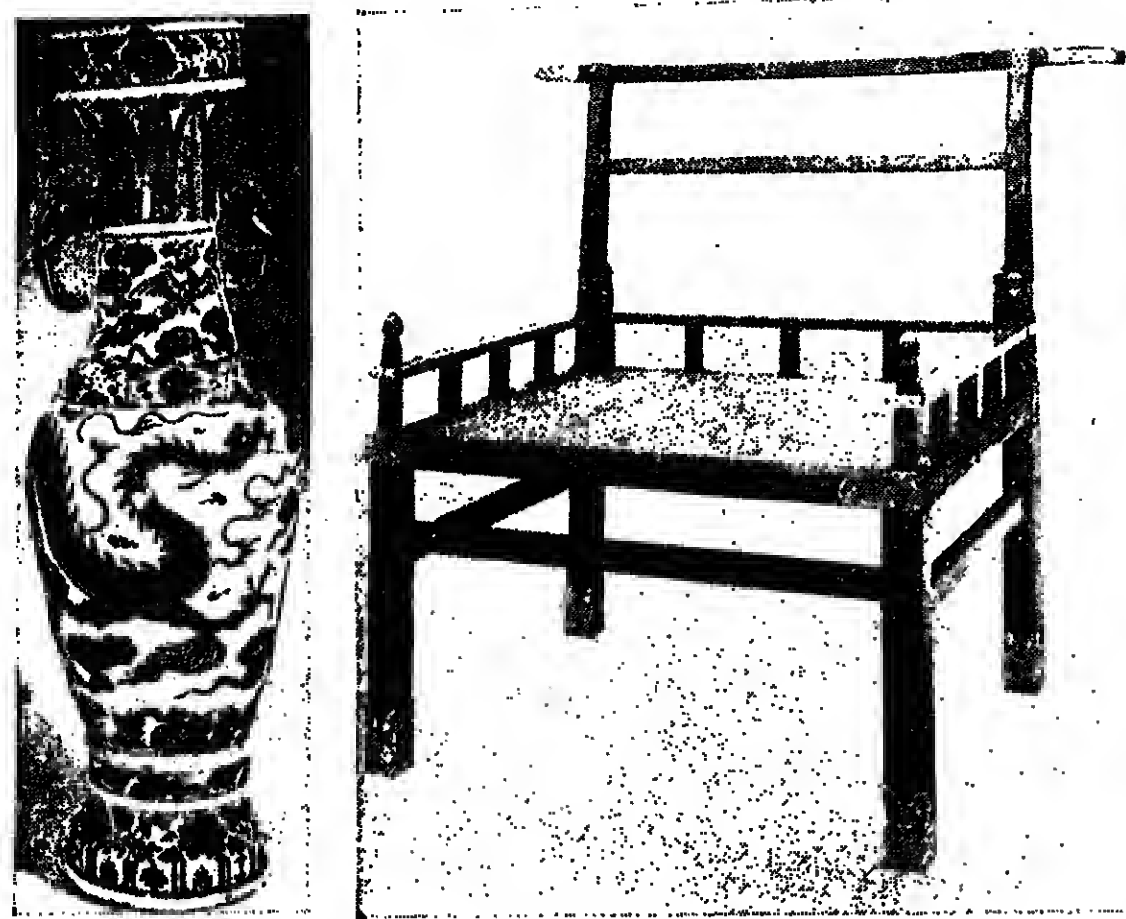


attitude which Tung Chi-ch'ang has come to represent rather exclusively is only the climax of a movement of opinion traceable through the Ming period. She shows the slowness of the expressed critical attitude of the Yuan masters who were later acclaimed as revolutionaries, and she insists rightly that the scholar's evaluation of landscape was not adopted until the late Ming.

With candour unaccustomed in such studies, Dr Bush demonstrates how caste exclusiveness and social snobbery could be made avert criteria of excellence, so that personal and regional groupings of artists came to have real art-historical significance in Chinese eyes. "Westerners are less able to conceive of a socially conscious art history," she remarks, but that is an ideology like any other, and it might be thought that Westerners are particularly well qualified to see art in just such terms.

The point is, however, that the Chinese insistently linked social and official status with *literary* value, and that ideas of this order moulded the notion of scholars' painting from an early time. It began in the late eleventh century with the correlation of literature—in China so nearly synonymous with literacy—and painting. In some famous verses Su Shi seems to say that painting cannot be bound by verisimilitude any more than poetry can be by theme, but Dr Bush points out that it is the creative process and the expressiveness of what is created that Shi had in mind, and that "only a later writer like Tung Chi-ch'ang could apply the couplet to trends of a style". One is reminded of remarks by the eighteenth-century painter and critic Ts'ao I-kuei, in the effect that the much lauded literary attitude could be a cloak for sheer pictorial incompetence. But the Sung painters, even the most literary in posture, were far from rejecting the visible world as an ultimate inspiration.

Dr Bush gives a longish section of her book in an account of the ideas of Tung Yü, who was a fervid collector of the colophons of paintings. At bottom his position may not be so very different from Su Shi's, for he values naturalness, the sense of life in external nature, and is aware of emergent qualities in a composition. "The true nature of a horse is not seen in its parts but in a glimpse of the whole", an aspect which comes in for little comment from the Chinese critic. But Tung Yü was something of a Taoist, and preferred pictures of historical subjects. As a further foil for the growth of the literary idea something more could perhaps be said of Han Ch'ao, a critic whose vocabulary seems to attempt a combination of the peculiar psychological and spatial values which lie at the heart of



Temple vase (Yüan, 13th-14th c.) inscribed with a dedication to a Buddhist temple; and, restored from old fragments, an armchair of lacquered wood (K'uei) with chased gilt copper mounts (eighth century AD).

the landscape experimentation of the time.

Dr Bush shows unusual insight too in her treatment of the concept of *hsieh i*—painting the idea. In the Ming period this was thought of as an aspect of style and execution, the *essence* and the delicate awkwardness. The phrase is first seen in the eleventh century, but then it seemed to mean much the same as what is implied by *ch'i*—flavour, interest. Later the expression was regularly used in contrast with a style of pictorial minuteness and accuracy, which must be despised. In this connexion the author challenges the importance attached to Buddhist ideas of the Ch'ang kind by, among others, Nicole Vandier-Nicolas in her book on Mi Fu, refusing to see in *hsieh i* ("spiritual insight" or even "communion with nature") and implying suddenness a distinguishing feature of the Sung literary artists. In doing so she knocks away another prop of the Tung Chi-ch'ang philosophy, for his literary school—the "southern school"—was so named partly in allusion to a southern school of Buddhist meditation which opposed the notion of sudden enlightenment to the more gradual spiritual ascent proposed in north China.

It is characteristic of Dr Bush's

synthesis of the Chinese aesthetic tradition that she speaks less of self-expression, in the manner of the later scholar-artists, and more of such qualities as the stringency of Sung painting and poetry. Careful as she is in correcting the literary myth as Tung Chi-ch'ang and his circle created it, she perhaps fails to come to terms completely with some early notions which have to be reconciled with the literary attitude, and which they anticipate. Thus in the early fifth century Tung Ping's subjectiveness, of Buddhist-Taoist colouring, could lead away from verisimilitude in painting; and the *hsieh i* spoken of by Hsieh Ho is hardly translated as "rough", for it has to do rather with the rapid manner which perfectly grasps essentials, and to that extent is an anticipation of what the literary men lauded. Dr Bush follows most ably in the steps of Nakamura Shigeo, whose recent treatment of the history of Chinese painting theory must become a classic. Her book will be indispensable to Western students of the subject, whether or not they have access to the Japanese edition of established ideas which is going on in Japan is reflected in the writings of Suzuki Kō, and it is surprising not to see his book on the

Ch'ang School among the books listed in Dr Bush's bibliography—nor does she mention Robert Maeda's recent translation of treatises by Teng Ch'ün and Han Ch'ao.

To say that we turn from the sublime to the ridiculous in *Sengai* is only to do justice to Daisetz Suzuki's subject, for the purpose of *haiga*, always imbued with Zen, is to enlighten through wit and humour. The author is none other than that tireless prelate of Zen, recently deceased at the age of ninety-five, who spent a lifetime teaching this anti-rational, whimsical, and allegedly most liberating extreme of Buddhism in East and West. The whimsical part is best recorded in painting, and best in Japan, where the brief irony and carthiness of the points it makes ally it closely to Japanese poetry in general and in particular to the *haikai*. This book is the most attractive and best documented (if Zen anecdotalism can be called documentation) that has appeared on this subject. Sengai retired from the 123rd abbottship of the Shōtōji in 1811 and lived on in Kyushu for another twenty years making a great many of these paintings, which are a cultivated quickness of the throw-away and ephemeral, but which their creator did not wish to see "used as wrapping

paper". There is no standard to which to judge this book, as it intends, and some will say it is stuff, and some, great humbug! There is no escaping the charm of Suzuki's introduction. It is his book, written in his own English. The account of Sengai is a brief chronicle of Zen, showing how its masters may avert and simultaneously how they combine human love with detachment, *hishiyeshu* ("and at the same time is what Meister Eckhart calls 'geschiedenheit'").

In a note Herbert Read, a Sengai a transcendental human thinking perhaps of God's too, and compares his painting the works of Daumier for a fluidity of line and with the *Ch'ao* of Goya for "his safe point of view and the switches of notations". Only Basil Gray in his brief observations puts Sengai's perspective as an artist, as he Nanga painters who gambled Kyushu and fed there on con with China. He is certainly right insisting that Sengai must have been acquainted with Buisson's late work. He points out that it was not he was furry that Sengai while to Hakata, in Kyushu, where lived under his master Gessen Zō from 1770 to 1783, a period of the most active artistic interest. Zen was led by Yōsō (Buisson and) Ōtaiga. A uniform Zen *haiga* had in fact become well established before Sengai, and, although a section of the Chinese tradition of painting, it was most distinctly Japanese, leading smoothly into the popular school.

The casual touch of Sengai's is miraculous and writing and torial forms conjugate more in the paintings than in Chinese work, for all the Chinese talk of identity of writing and painting. However much abstracted, they still retain something of the Japanese gaze at the trivial of the figures are as animated Goya's. The bamboo, the lotus, the girl begging for a drink, priests not more intelligent or than they need be, a crippled beggar, the lower orders in juyous, all are memorable, and all fit into the perfection. Suzuki's anecdotal commentary touches on the things in heaven and earth, wonders if the woodland around Hakata commemorates by inscriptions of his aphorisms the inimitable script, as the *haikai* walks above Koyon recall the tales of Tsumoto Tetsu, who a century later recaptured much of Sengai's paintings.

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## The pernicious myth of Revolution

JEAN-FRANÇOIS REVEL:  
Without Marx or Jesus  
The New American Revolution Has Begun

Translated by J. F. Bernard  
269pp. MacGibbon and Kee. £2.50.  
GEORGE L. JACKSON:  
Blood In My Eye  
217pp. Cape. £1.95.

Revolution is surely the most pernicious myth of our time, as well as the most potent. All over the world men and women in search of hope cling to the belief that, in some sense, somehow, somewhere, revolution will erupt to transform, permanently and beneficially, the present monstrous conditions of life. That these conditions are in fact monstrous is indisputable; but the false myth of revolution acts in some cases as a narcotic, freeing its victims from any felt need to grapple with actuality as they dream of the Day: it drives others to feverish action, action which is equally misguided, for it is directed solely at bringing about revolution, and is equally indifferent to immediate improvements in social conditions. Meanwhile the enemy justifies its crimes in the name of counter-revolution; and intelligent reformers have to waste their time vainly attempting to steal the mythic name of revolution for their commonsense

programmes. And evil continues to fester.

These propositions are amply illustrated by the two books, both of which are obsessed with revolution, if in very different ways. Jean-François Revel is a deliciously funny writer, especially when France is his target. Here is how he sums up one of the commonest French fallacies about the United States:

FRIEND: Americans are both uncultivated and unwise.  
REVEL: I beg your pardon. They read more than we do, and I have the sales figures to prove it.  
FRIEND: That may be, but it's because most of the books they read are obscene.

Such is the flavour of *Without Marx or Jesus*. Beneath its surface glitter it is a sweeping account of the woes of the world and of the measures necessary to correct them. Unhappily it suffers at every turn from a fancied need to exploit the myth of revolution.

A spirited exchange with Mary McCarthy in the closing pages illustrates the point. According to M. Revel there has only been one revolution, because only one has ever succeeded: the transformation of Western society that took place at the end of the eighteenth century. Miss McCarthy seeing the implications,

I would say that his "revolution" is only a metaphor, a play on words... if one accepts Revel's definitions, the only successful revolution, up to now, has been the Industrial Revolution.

M. Revel tries to evade this by asserting that  
The whole purpose of my book is to re-examine the very concept of revolution... The whole idea of opposition between reform and revolution, particularly, must be largely revised. What matters, in reality, is the ability effectively to bring about change...

This is surely true, but it will not make M. Revel's analysis any more attractive to the nihilistic devotees of the revolutionary myth. They will dismiss him as, at best, a revisionist; they will see his attempts to appreciate the concept of revolution as an impertinence. On the other hand, Fabians and liberals, while delighting in M. Revel's wit and intelligence, will discount his thesis of revolution as unnecessary.

At least the book should encourage liberals to persist in the hard rows they hoe. Of these perhaps the hardest is prison reform, and perhaps it is harder in the United States than anywhere else in the West. It is impossible to reflect on the life in prison of George Jackson without indignation, especially as his horrible story is all too typical of the US penal system. Similar cases will be

found by the dozen in almost every state. Jackson was once charged with a \$70 theft. On his lawyer's advice he pleaded guilty, and was given an indeterminate sentence—which meant that he spent the rest of his life (seven years in jail. Resourceful, intelligent and high-spirited, he resisted, and despite brutal conditions—conditions such as led to the Attika rising—got enough education to write his famous *Solidarity Brother*, which told the world the story of his wrongs. It was a great success, but it did him no good: eventually he was killed, in the usual way, by prison guards, with no independent witnesses.

*Blood In My Eye* occupied him during his last months. Intellectually it is quite worthless, full of bad history, bad logic and bad feeling; repetitious, ill-constructed, linguistically vacuous. As a document, showing how American prisons destroyed one man, soul, mind and body, it is invaluable. Shut off from all personal hope—fully expecting his coming murder—Jackson, in these pages, takes refuge in ecstatic fantasies about the emergence of the Black Panthers as an urban guerrilla army, glowing on the thought of imminent civil war. For him the myth of revolution is a dream of the freedom and revenge he is never to enjoy.

Unfortunately he infected his teenage brother Jonathan with his delusions. The most painful reading in

*Blood In My Eye* is Jonathan's letters, extensively quoted, which dwell on assassination, street warfare and secret organization with adolescent enthusiasm and no sense of reality at all.

The fierce and beautiful Cong shoot down a couple dozen of the very biggest and best copiers Yankee invention can produce every week. . . . How would they have felt the pigs and the people if the nameless, faceless, lightning-wolf soldier of the people could have reached up, twisted the tail of their \$200,000 death bird, and hurled it into the streets, broken, ablaze!

Imagine what Nixon's unarmoured car would look like if I stepped out of the alley and hit it with the anti-tank rocket launcher under my coat—a ball of fire.

It never seems to have occurred to George Jackson that he ought to have held Jonathan back from the action until he had grown up a little. The outcome was the boy's mad attempt to kidnap a judge, which took his own and many other lives, and, as everyone knows, nearly destroyed Angela Davis.

George Jackson and the myth of revolution were in part to blame; but the ultimate villain was the American prison, that embodiment of merciless class, racial and individual oppression. No American reformer deserves the name who is not prepared to treat the penal problem as one of the highest urgency.

## Change at Chatham House

ROGER MORGAN (Editor):  
The Study of International Affairs  
Essays in Honour of Kenneth Younger

309pp. Oxford University Press for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. £5.

The occasion of Roger Morgan's "stocktaking" book, to use his own description of it, is the centenary of the foundation of the Royal Institute of International Affairs with the retirement of its Director, Kenneth Younger. The outcome is a frank and valuable exercise in self-criticism. A dozen or so authors, all accustomed to working with or for the Institute, have surveyed their specialized fields with common terms of reference, to which they have mostly adhered with a self-deceiving discipline. The form of most of the essays is roughly similar: it is to examine what Chatham House has itself done in such particular field; then to broaden terms what other scholarly work has been done; and finally what needs to be done, or at least what kind of approach should be adopted in future. Where there are significant lacunae, the general conclusion is that the field is too vast to justify any reasonable expectation that it should

have been completely covered. On the other hand, very little is said about important areas of historical study in which Chatham House exposed itself to severe criticism a generation ago, such as Appeasement and Palestine.

The omission points to a notable change of direction in the Institute's style of scholarship. It used to treat international affairs as if they were simply an aggregate of national affairs, leading to an historical account of their impact on each other. This was a natural consequence of the fact that the original experts in the new field of study, established only half a century ago, were historians and specialists in the affairs of particular countries, or of self-contained areas like the Balkans or the Middle East or Latin America. A great many valuable studies were produced in this way, country by country or region by region. The only synoptic view of international relations in their totality was the annual *Survey*, which eventually grew beyond the capacity of a single author and ceased to fit naturally within the compass of an annual format. This reflected that history was ceasing to be the only discipline relevant to international studies. In an introductory essay to the present volume, Andrew Shonfield, the new Director, draws attention to the other disci-

plines which have intruded into the field: economics, sociology, law, strategy, psychology, systems-analysis and so on. It is no wonder that important gaps remain.

Mr Shonfield also emphasizes "the overwhelming importance of the echoes of a particular explanatory model within which the particular scholar casts his data and looks for a coherent pattern of behaviour". He is borne out by a number of examples from the other essays. Bruce Miller points to the influence on accounts of Commonwealth relationships exercised by "cosy analogies", such as the family. Hugh Tinker argues that some of the reality of Asian politics has been missed by a reluctance to recognize the significance of military rule, as though ignoring it "was doing one's bit to make it go away". Other distortions have arisen from misconceptions of the American role in the Far East and of the essential motives for the unification of Western Europe. In both the last two cases the alternative models, offered by John Gitting and Roy Pryce respectively, may be seriously questioned. But the point is that international models are possible. What has come to be accepted as the traditional orthodoxy is more or less accidental. The basis of the accident has been the choice of particular scholars to

work for Chatham House. Even though the Institute disclaims responsibility for their viewpoints, the habits of thought of the old guard have long been recognizable in the process of choice. But in recent years a changing of the guard has been taking place.

Evidence of it can be seen in many of the essays in this book. The new Director was himself formerly chairman of the Social Sciences Research Council; the vice-chairman of the Institute's Council is a professor of military studies; the Director of Studies is an international lawyer; new-fangled subjects like games theory and "futurology" are now established in the Chatham House canon. But while the writers' range of interests is healthily wide, they candidly admit that the range of work actually achieved under the auspices of the Institute is still limited. Rosalyn Higgins deplores the relative poverty of British work in the field of international law. Both she and Susan Strange, in the field of international economics, point to the barriers which circumscribe their subjects: on consecutive pages the one calls for more "inter-disciplinary cooperation" and the other for "radical desegregation". Professor Miller on the Commonwealth and Professor Tinker on southern Asia

both deplore the survival of a quasi-colonialist or at any rate paternalist attitude to their fields of study in this country. D. C. Watt very frankly admits the shortcomings of the *Survey of International Affairs* and its accompanying volumes of *Documents*. All the contributors, and especially Dr Morgan himself in the final essay, draw attention to the important work to be done in the future.

Dr Morgan picks out four aspects of the present situation which he thinks will remain important. They are, first, the progressive integration of strategic studies into the general conspectus of international studies; second, the declining emphasis on quantification; thirdly, the growing interest in "futurological" or predictive models; fourthly, the sense of a need for theoreticians to descend from the abstract to the real world. He even foresees a time when scholars may be able "to explain the nature of the real world in such a way that the practitioners of foreign policy are more likely to make the right decisions". Then, indeed, the study of international affairs will have become a science. It may still be a long way off, but certainly the new book embodied in this vigorous collection of essays promises an encouraging future for Chatham House.

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# A gadfly in the Third World

P. T. BAUER:  
Dissent on Development  
500pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.  
£4.75.

Nothing would be more easy, and more false or patronizing, than to praise P. T. Bauer for this lucid (if repetitive), well-written statement of the case for development through private enterprise. Although witty and at times epigrammatic, these papers are the ultimate *raison d'être* of a brilliant mind to carelessness, insouciance, motive, rhetoric disguised as logic, lawless, dressed as disclaimers for "quantification", and in general the subjugation of study to debate. Some of the author's earlier work, notably the discussions of methodology and the study of the West African export monopolies reproduced here (like all the papers, not updated), and some of the reasoning in the footnotes, show the real quality of which he is capable. Yet he seems content to be stimulating, provocative, a gadfly: the Malcolm Muggeridge of development studies.

To debate and dissent usefully, one must understand one's adversary: Professor Bauer turns him into Aunt Sally. He repeatedly ridicules theories that A and B are related, by showing that A is neither necessary nor sufficient for B; but the fact that the occasional country has developed despite low savings or aid or infrastructure or investment is entirely irrelevant to the fact that such of these four things *help* development. Similarly those who fear the vicious circle of poverty seldom imply, absurdly, that hunger for low savings and low income inevitably perpetuate each other: only that they make each other difficult to cure without a "big push".

In other respects, Professor Bauer also seems dialogue with his adversary. Thus Nicholas Kaldor does not, by "resources" and "incentives", mean respectively "money" and "attitudes and motivations". Many people see countries "in which there is substantial private foreign investment" as "economically dependent" not because its returns are "a form of exploitation" but because its management is relatively difficult to subordinate to even the ultimate control of the home government. No serious person believes that "the primary or only difference between people are differences in incomes".

Professor Bauer's refusal to think himself into his adversary's head prevents him from spouting interesting areas of agreement between "left" and "right", and in particular in his long review of *Asian Drama* be-

tween Gunnar Myrdal and himself. Thus Myrdal's preference for price incentives over licences and other physical controls is unmentioned. Myrdal is repeatedly claimed to hold views opposite to those on which he and Professor Bauer concur. Professor Bauer alleges that "Myrdal's hostility to prosperous people is notable in his references to the economically successful Asian minority groups"; yet Myrdal wrote in *Asian Drama*: "In SE Asia, government intrusion in commerce and business has, as we noted, frequently been motivated by prejudice against foreigners... in Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia, that term [Socialist] is frequently used as a polemic device for outright discrimination." Professor Bauer accuses Myrdal of worshipping the Asian "intellectual elite", yet even Myrdal's index references reveal mixed and sceptical feelings "... created by metropolitan countries: enthusiasm for industrialization; expectations of... revolution... indictment of private enterprise; influenced by foreign ideals; optimism; religious attitudes responsible for educational conservatism; romantic attitude towards masses;... vested interest in status quo". By ignoring his adversary when they agree with him, Professor Bauer can only claim to "radical and uncompromising criticism of widely accepted views", and then list extreme, unacknowledged dogmatism, ready to be knocked down with uncompromising radicalism.

Professor Bauer's method of direct citation is no more scholarly. Despite Myrdal's extended critique of "direct controls", his advocacy of "compulsion" is systematically misinterpreted as a wish to transform Asian Man by force; this is done by cutting off or leaving out such Myrdalisms as "there is nothing more dangerous for democracy than lack of discipline", or "apply compulsion in order to enforce existing laws and regulations and to enact and enforce new ones". In one footnote Professor Myrdal, in each case portraying a neutral or balanced remark about communist systems as insinuated praise.

To the colour-blind there are indeed Reals under the bed. They spread "widely publicized ideas which are nonsense (but) promote attitudes or policies which weaken the position of the West". Unnamed "people influential in the universities, mass media and the international organizations", who regard the radical weakening of "private market economy and... private property" as "a major objective of policy", also "consider the underdeveloped coun-

tries as allies, or rather as instruments, in the promotion of their aims". In a paper written in 1961, Professor Bauer approvingly cites F. A. Hayek's remark that "the information which the Western public has obtained about events in central and eastern Europe has almost inevitably been coloured by a socialist bias". Misreading a citation, Professor Bauer claims that for Myrdal "the communist system achieves economic wonders". Neither freedom nor analysis is likely to be advanced by these techniques.

Where remarks cry out for evidence for at least references they get none. It may be true "that the number of motor cars per thousand people in the Soviet Union is certainly less than half the corresponding figure for non-whites in South Africa, and probably as little as one-quarter" or that "there has been substantial material progress in most of the underdeveloped world since 1900", but *pace dicta* is not proof. Professor Bauer's unfamiliarity with the recent literature leads him to assert, categorically and often, some blinding non-facts: that the gap between average real income-per-head in rich and poor countries has not widened (let alone that there is no sharp discontinuity in real purchasing power per head between poor countries and rich ones (cf. Maddison); that "the economic history of India since about 1955 has been one of progression from poverty to pauperism" (Bhagwati and Desai, *Streeten and Hill*); and that demand for coffee, cocoa and tea probably increases almost as quickly as the income of those who drink it (H. Schultz, *Stone*). Authorities are sometimes oddly chosen: the Liberian delegate to the UN (from whom Firestone rather than tire-and-brimstone is to be expected) is cited in support of British colonial beneficence in Gold Coast-Ghana, but the statistical and documentary work of Hymer and Kay is ignored.

Perhaps more serious is Professor Bauer's neglect of major development theory. While he attacks the "spurious consensus" for views it does not hold, few serious development economists are dismissed or even cited. The onslaught on aid ignores the classic analysis in which Chenery and Strout explain how it should build "self-reliance" by so raising income as to enable the recipients to save enough to cover investment, and to export enough to finance imports. Arguments for inter-personal income equalization are dismissed as confused prejudices, without reference to the work of Adelman, Dutton, Lydall, or (outside economics) Runciman or Rawls. The

misinterpret his opponents, and fails to read (at least to give) the evidence. What of the logic of his own argument? It has some curious features. From page 219 we have italicized five favourite devices, used in quick succession: the word-slide, the persuasive definition, the unvarnished attribution of attitude, the false equation, and the false dichotomy: "Moralism is a dictionary term... It denotes the attitude, belief or even insistence that we must all work reasonably for the improvement of the human condition. Moralists take for granted their own ability and right... to neglect or assess the cost of improvement. In the field of scholarship they emphasize that the proper concern is with practical

results, that is with direct improvement of the human condition rather than with the advancement of learning or a understanding of phenomena.

Is it self-censorship thus to define a scholar as one who is not to defend a position among people by conflict of words and meanings, but solely without distinction, difference and discrimination, except between subject and ruler, would be more akin to that of the insects? These are not the only resources logical rhetoric. Professor Bauer loves to give words like "planning", "compulsion" and "industrialization" extreme interpretations in order to attack their advocates, or elsewhere to argue that such words are so ill-defined as to be useless concepts. Furthermore, especially in discussing climate, he slides between defining an environmental condition as relevant to development and a quibbling consideration as such and a determining the level, rate or direction of development.

Professor Bauer's own logic is often as dubious as these rhetorical devices to pin illogic on others. The inability of some recipients to serve even... soft loans" probably suggests not "that the return... is extremely low, perhaps even zero or negative" (what a splendid slide!) but that the returns could be used to earn or save foreign currency, or were private and inappropriate for the borrowing government. -points Professor Bauer elsewhere recognizes. The usual measures of the terms of trade is preferable Professor Bauer's proposal, what confuses the effects of changes in purchasing power from a country exports and of rising productivity making them. It does not follow the because some recipient policy "impoverish their own countries or other aid recipients", one can conclude that "need plainly does not offer a worthwhile argument for sensible criterion for aid": because some needy people use gifts unwise should future gifts be distributed randomly between the needy and affluent?

Deafness in dialogue, ignorance, neglect of relevant evidence, illogical-chopping, rhetorical school ship - all this would matter little for a lesser man than Professor Bauer. His great talents, no less than his repeated (and not wholly unjust) signification of most of his colleagues work to an "intellectual slant", demand high and self-critical standards. Perhaps the study of poverty poses no moral obligations; but at least unesthetic, as millions hungry daily, to spin out of his miseries webs of aggressive faulty reasoning.

made of them, traditional historians have indeed been selective in the use of data, have made at implicit use of models or frameworks for systematic analysis, and (and the new economic historians) have avoided hypothetical estimates.

It has to be recognized that because of the length of the periods examined, the variability of human behaviour, economic history does land itself to the simplification possible in other social sciences. Improbable, therefore, that even sophisticated tools of the new economic historians will make it possible to achieve significantly clearer results.

The problems the new economic historians bring to their problems are essentially inherent to the study of human behaviour. The new economic historians, like their counterparts in other social sciences, cannot solve problems by wishful thinking or blaming them on the weaknesses of more traditional scholars. They must show the viability of the new approach and their capability of better explaining human behaviour.

Professor Turner's book is eloquently argued, cautious, careful: the discussion of rival views well-balanced; the conclusions sensibly restrained. It is a book to be read and re-read, and to be discussed with friends.

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# Profoundly meaningful

NOAM CHOMSKY:  
Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar  
207pp. Mouton. Distributed by Colibri, PO Box 482, The Hague. 24fl.

This is a collection of three papers, all of which either have appeared or will appear in volumes competing for the same specialized market. One has indeed been published twice already. In preparing the present version, Chomsky's own efforts appear to have been rather less than might be expected. One would have thought, in particular, that he would have seized the opportunity to update his references. At the time of writing just under half the items were in fact unpublished: thus in the third paper sixteen are referred to by a date and title only. But of these well over a third have subsequently appeared, often in 1970 and in one case as early as 1969. Surely these details should have been filled in? One would also have welcomed a proper analytic index instead of the bare index of terms which is in fact provided. As an example of scholarly production this book is to be discouraged.

Chomsky's reputation may, however, be thought to transcend such humdrum carping. And the topic, at least, is of major interest within the transformational school of linguistics. In his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), and still as late as his *Language and Mind* (1968), Chomsky was playing with a very simple relationship between the syntactic and semantic sections of his grammatical system. The syntax of a sentence had two aspects, a deep structure and a surface structure, and its so-called "semantic representation" was assigned on the basis of the deep structure alone. Correspondingly, its "phonetic representation" was assigned solely on the basis of surface structure. Indeed in another monograph "deep" and "surface"

were established by definition in precisely this sense.

Nowadays no prominent transformationalist still supports this model, except conceivably Jerrold Katz (who originally proposed it). But there is little agreement about the alternative. Surface structure, to be sure, remains fixed; it has become the sacred cow of contemporary American linguistics. But the syntax of deep structure is more precarious. According to one group, the notion is unnecessary and indeed a hindrance; instead of specifying or generating structures at this level (which must then be "interpreted" semantically by rules which apply subsequently), the grammar should begin by generating semantic representations directly. These are then, one might say, "interpreted" syntactically. For obvious reasons this view is referred to by the label "generative semantics".

Chomsky himself does not accept the arguments which this group puts forward. He believes, in any case, that the difference is far less than they say. how can it affect the grammar, in substance, if we merely "take the semantics first" instead of the syntax? At the same time, he himself has moved in almost the reverse direction. He is now convinced that both surface and deep structures are the basis for semantic representations; this is really a return to a position which he only briefly abandoned. He is also prepared to reverse a number of specific analyses. In earlier transformational grammar, pairs such as *John refused* and *John's refusal* were assigned the same deep structure. The generative semanticists would indeed go further and say, far example, that *John's death* and *So-and-so killed John* are likewise related; a large part of their case is that apparent lexical units (such as *death* or *refusal*) are not the basic

elements of the grammar. But for Chomsky *refusal*, as *refuse*, need no longer be related to *kill* at all—not syntactically, that is. There are two different deep structures: in one *John* is the subject of a verb and in the other, as it were, the subject of a noun.

This conservative note is very welcome, particularly when one compares the reckless novelties which are put about by younger members of the school. But how far is Chomsky willing to pursue it? The treatment of *John's refusal* is in part a betrayal of his own principles: it is the essence of transformational analysis that if two constructions show the same semantic relationships (thus *John* is the logical subject of both *chase* and *noun-phrase*; *infidelity's refusal* is odd for the same reason as *infidelity refused*, and so on), therefore they must be syntactically related. This new analysis is closer, in particular, to Jespersen's well-known theory of nexus and nexus-substantives. In that theory, in effect, the functional relations were taken as primitive.

Again, why separate "deep" and "surface" unless, in fact, the former has some special connexion with the semantics? The present volume is confined to technical polemics within the transformational school. The apparatus of phrase-structure and transformational rules is simply taken for granted. So also is the controversial notion of "semantic representation": it is assumed that we can describe the "meaning" of a sentence, independently of particular utterance, in terms which parallel the description of its phonetics. Of course, Chomsky makes clear that these are assumptions only. But in recent years transformational grammar has got into something of a mess; on this all protagonists seem agreed. Is it not time to look again at even the most established features of the theory?

# Deciding what to speak

JOAN RUBIN and BJORN H. JERNUDD (Editors):  
Can Language be Planned?  
343pp. University of Hawaii Press. \$12.

"Language planning" is the deliberate planning and promotion of specified types of change in the use and structure of languages. In many nations, not least those usually known as "developing" ones, this is a highly topical, and indeed vital business. At the same time, linguists and even administrators are becoming more sophisticated about its risks. They are becoming more aware of the need for a stringently rational approach when looking for alternative language-plans and weighing the relative merits and perils of different solutions.

So such processes, linguistic considerations in the narrow sense are only one of the factors. We are now returning to the age-old, common-sense view that language is not merely a code for communication but also a very powerful social force. Our forecasts in language-planning must include a vast range of social, political, economic, religious, demographic and psychological considerations, as well as many technical linguistic ones. Even then, many of the forces involved will remain unpredictable: the market values of languages, and of linguistic features at different levels within each language, inevitably fluctuate on the world's many exchanges.

And as Joshua Fishman has put it, language planning also has its own built-in dialectic between goals such as modernization, unification, and tradition: every decision involves a compromise. Therefore the translation of linguistic sentiments into action has often proved more difficult than zealous reformers have thought or admitted. Once the genie is out of the bottle, appalling numbers of hours may be spent by

generations of children and adults in the pursuit of linguistic drills which may pay very slight dividends to the majority of their victims. If language-planning seems to meet a real need, very large groups of people may be eager enough to pay the heavy price of learning and adopting new linguistic patterns and habits. It is up to the planners to guarantee that they do not do so in vain.

As the burden of responsibility grows heavier, language planners should improve their skills. As one step in this process, language-planning ought to be recognized as a special branch of sociolinguistics. It ought to develop its own explicit rationale, and theory, which should be closely linked to those of a host of related disciplines. And it ought to seek support from a mass of case-studies and empirical evidence showing what has and what has not been achieved in certain types of situation with certain kinds of measures. Obviously, it merits its own scholarly channels of communication in the form of conferences, books and journals.

This, then, is the background of *Can Language Be Planned?* In 1968-69, under the inspiration of Joshua Fishman, four scholars—including the two dedicated editors of this book—joined forces at the East-West Centre of the Institute of Advanced Projects in Hawaii to study language-planning and in April, 1969, a number of experts met at Honolulu for a conference on language-planning processes. They came from several different disciplines and were acquainted with language policies in several different parts of the world. The papers in the present collection are revised versions of those read and discussed at their meeting.

The eighteen essays fall into four groups: the motivation of language policies; case studies of language planning in Israel, Israel, the Philippines, East Africa, Turkey, in-

donesia, and Pakistan; general theories and approaches; research strategies for the future. Generally, the focus is on the present, facing forward. Those whose interests lie in the past history of language-planning must consult other sources but they too will profit from the theoretical discussions.

The book is a success. The theoretical sections may seem weighed down by the jargon of the social sciences, but what is more important is that they pay healthy respect to the varying demands of each situation, and particularly to cost analysis. The case-study section is admirably concrete and obviously based on a wealth of up-to-date, firsthand experience, though it would have been good to have a study of a number of language-planning systems in Europe, from the establishment of standard Finnish in the North-East to the development of Portuguese-and-Brazilian spelling in the South-West. There might also have been a more detailed discussion of the contrastive and pedagogical aspects of language-planning. One of the book's great assets is its set of select bibliographies.

Sociolinguistics once loomed with libertarians, who proclaimed the supremacy of usage and the futility of language-planning. But sociolinguists differ in their tolerance of linguistic variation and their readiness to submit to language-planning, and this is becoming increasingly recognized. Thus pendulum is now swinging towards a more balanced position between libertarians and a belief in the virtues of centralized, rigidly institutionalized language controls. We must learn to assess the benefits of sensible language-planning in each specific situation, without dismissing the role of actual usage. And we must learn to apply this enlightened compromise for rational language-planning as a crucially important step in the building of the future.

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# Getting away from the conquerors

N. B. HART (Editor):  
The Study of Economic History  
Collected Inaugural Lectures 1893-1970.  
390pp. Cass. £4.20.

ELIAS H. TURNER:  
Economic History and the Social Sciences  
316pp. University of California Press. £5.25.

From virtual non-existence a hundred years ago economic history has become a recognized academic discipline in almost every British university. And in the only branch of history to achieve independent status it has, been, and remains, one of the most productive fields of scholarship. As N. B. Hart points out in his introduction, the history of the subject has yet to be written. However, his enterprise in collecting together 21 inaugural lectures goes some way towards remedying this deficiency and provides an admirable guide to the subject and its development.

Dr. Hart's own contribution makes a lively survey of the subject's

growth from its origins in the works of Petty, Grint, Houghton and other seventeenth-century scholars and later contributions such as Sincin's *History of the Public Revenue*, Eden's *State of the Poor*, and Porter's *Progress of the Nation*. It is surprising, however, that Dr. Hart omits to mention the plea of Arthur Young—not himself an historically-inclined writer—for more of the economy as a relief from the dreary military details of "a detailed list of men, called conquerors, heroes and great generals" with which history books were loaded. When the subject finally began to develop as an academic discipline in the late nineteenth century, the pioneers like Thorold Rogers, Arnold Toynbee, W. J. Ashley and Cannibum still had to struggle against the anti-historical bias of most classical economists on the one hand and the anti-economic bias of most historians on the other. And in that bias there was an element of scorn: the economist's treating history as frivolous or irrelevant, and the traditional historians, from their lofty intellectual eminence, viewing economic history as concerned solely with jung and drains.

By their very nature, inaugural lectures seem to involve on inevitable repetitiveness (as, for example, in the rather frequent references to Adam Smith). Nevertheless, the views of such giants as Sir John Clapham, Sir George Clark and Tawney most always command interest and provide intriguing contrast. Clapham spoke of the subject's "ill-defined territory... lying along the frontiers of history and economics"; Tawney plumped for the broad conception of the "life of a society". What was the subject's claim to notice? Economic history was not the most important but the most fundamental, said Chambers, quoting from Clapham, and Sir George Clark found it hard to resist the temptation of clipping King Alfred as the first economic historian. It is curious that T. S. Ashton's references to the subject's concern with the "history of society" should be the "history of the economy" and the "history of the nation" as "a sort of polemic" and "a collector and student of historical bones". There are many other memorable phrases: "The history of the economy is a thin rivulet of text incandescing through wide and lush meadows of footnotes"—a

change resulting from economic progress, for it was "one of the eternal verities of history that as societies become wealthy they are no longer able to afford pleasures that were well within their reach when they were poor".

Elias Turner's study may lack the polished elegance of the inaugural masterpiece but he deals in greater depth with the development and present situation of economic history. His terms of reference, too, are wide, enabling him to discuss the contributions of European and American scholars, and he brings into his orbit the problematical relationships between the subject and other social sciences.

An important part of the book is taken up by an appraisal of the "new" economic history, with its extensive use of economic theory, application of econometric tools and formulation of models and introduction of the counter-factual hypothesis. Although the traditional historians can be faulted for failing to clarify their objectives and for making generalizations too imprecise to be verifiable, Professor Turner rallies to their defence: he argues that despite the deficiencies commonly

made of them, traditional historians have indeed been selective in the use of data, have made at implicit use of models or frameworks for systematic analysis, and (and the new economic historians) have avoided hypothetical estimates.

It has to be recognized that because of the length of the periods examined, the variability of human behaviour, economic history does land itself to the simplification possible in other social sciences. Improbable, therefore, that even sophisticated tools of the new economic historians will make it possible to achieve significantly clearer results.

The problems the new economic historians bring to their problems are essentially inherent to the study of human behaviour. The new economic historians, like their counterparts in other social sciences, cannot solve problems by wishful thinking or blaming them on the weaknesses of more traditional scholars. They must show the viability of the new approach and their capability of better explaining human behaviour.

Professor Turner's book is eloquently argued, cautious, careful: the discussion of rival views well-balanced; the conclusions sensibly restrained.



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71st Year 7 JULY 1972 No. 3,671

# Viewpoint

BY PETER PORTER

IT SEEMS TO ME that the three main parties to the Contract of Art can be called the *Three Cs*—the Creator, the Critic and the Consumer. Communicator begins with a C also, but I unhesitatingly push him aside. Obviously, the Critic, though he still enjoys a formidable and well-rewarded role in society, especially in the universities, is the least important of the trio—a bridge, a Good Food Guide, a Village Explorer, a Middleman, even a Creator manque. Knocking critics sounds well when Stravinsky does it; the rest of us should not forget the carping part of ourselves. The Creator is the origin of everything that matters, the works of art themselves, yet it is not him but the Consumer I wish to celebrate. Amid the ego-fests of the Creators, how pleasant it is to be a Consumer, a reader of poetry and fiction, a listener to music, a viewer of pictures and plays.

Creators of every level of talent, including none at all, are always asking their comrades to join them against the stupid public (the Consumers) and the parasitic commentators (the Critics). Whenever the Arts Council sets up a panel to consider the problems facing Creative Artists—how best to pay them, promote their works and interest the public—hordes of people turn up, some of whom have never accepted the least discipline in their creative work, and thunder about the sanctity of creation and denounce almost every other person involved in the social contract. As the Disney cartoon puts it—"the world owes me a living". Certainly if you intend to make your way in the confusion of modern life, the role of Creator is the easiest to assume, since it requires no very tangible supporting evidence. This is where the old concept of the market often worked in favour of good art—at least somebody wanted the stuff. Today art is all too obviously subsidized into existence, and then lives for the rest of its life in Limbo. I am not against Arts Council grants—it would be almost impossible for serious art to exist without them. And I have no objection to spending money on fun buses, water carnivals and People Shows. They at least avoid the official deadliness of middlebrow concerts in honour of the Common Market. But if I were woken from sleep by the Recording Angel and asked to justify myself, I would say that I was a Good Consumer, and be proud of it. I would claim that I could aspire to, I would claim to have done my duty by the world's inheritance of great art and also by my own capacity for pleasure and enjoyment. This is almost the only human faculty which continues to grow throughout life. And the pleasure principle alone is not bound by the idea of progress or of historical necessity, and licenses us to move freely in a permanent museum where miraculously everything is alive. In one day recently I moved from Wallace Stevens's poem "Extracts from Addresses to the Academy of Fine Ideas" (which

although next door to "Asides on the Oboc", one of my favourite poems, I had somehow never read) to Bach's Cantata No 20 to Dye's painting of "Pegwell Bay", which was at the Whitechapel Gallery. All new experiences and all beautiful ones, and plenty more where they come from.

Ah, but no modern discoveries, someone will say; merely lifting the dust covers off pieces which were probably well enough known to everyone else. But each person has to hear the "Jupiter" Symphony for the first time, however remote Mozart may be from the stylistic dilemmas of today's avant-garde. Besides, the proportion of brand new works in one's table of excitements is not shamefully low. Art didn't stop short at anyone's cultivated limit—reading Geoffrey Hill's *Mercian Hymns* is an experience similar in kind to reading T. S. Eliot, but one that's more engaging for the poems' being freshly minted.

This is where I come to my difficult bridge passage: the wholehearted Consumer is not inhibited from Creation by the Pantheon he has in his mind. The better he enjoys, the better he can make. It is true that the great artists of the past moved stereotyped through their lives producing a prodigious quantity of masterpieces and seeming to waste no time on scholarship or other men's work, yet they too didn't create *ad hoc*, but, being such superb synthesizers, turned everything they knew to full advantage in their own art. I distrust all sophisticated Creators who are jaded by Consuming, and who advocate *tabula rasa* on which we will start the game all over again.

Perhaps I have been saying only that good art lasts and that most of the art of one's own day is bound to be winnowed savagely by time. But it is the attitude of the modern Creator that worries me. Almost as if he were aware of his slight chance of lasting, he repudiates the very principle itself in favour of a revolutionary broth of egotism and expendability. Yet he expects the public to grant him the favours it really owes to the pleasure-givers of the past—as if it were to collect Keats's royalties or one of my composer friends Schubert's PRS payments. Creators are no more a fraternity than Consumers, and they should moderate their strutting and complaining.

There is a passage in Auden's poem "The Trust Poetry" which expresses my feelings best. Talking about the odd kinds of girl who may inspire the poet, he writes:

Yours may be old enough to be your mother,  
Or have one leg that's shorter than the other,  
Or play Lacrosse or do the Modern Dance,  
To you that's destiny, to us it's chance;

That last line sums up the whole case. The sense of destiny which makes a Creator suffer for his art is a matter of chance to his landlord or his girl, friend, and even to the

man who applauds him after his death. It would be more honest for the modern poet to say outright to the public "if you like Keats, pay me" than to pose as an Early Warning System or to flourish his Wound and his Bow. Meanwhile, Public Libraries and the Music Programme will continue to be the biggest blacklegs in the business and the Creator will be found, incognito, enjoying the forbidden pleasures of Consuming.

I suppose King Tutankhamun's gold mask is the most familiar icon in London at the moment. The Pharaoh's burial suite seems to appeal to people of all ages and interests. It takes me back to my childhood, when Nestlé's in Australia enclosed cards in their chocolate bars illustrating the Ancient World, and I first saw King Tut's impressive gold and lapis lazuli features in 1930s out-of-register colour printing. Ancient History became and remained my favourite youthful interest, and via the *National Geographic Magazine's* elaborate reconstructions of the cities of the Fertile Crescent and Breasted's famous textbook, I followed the rise and fall of the Sumerian and Semitic civilizations. Greece and Rome interested me less.

One book in particular I am very grateful for, since it led to my interest in fiction, not just in fact. This was Rider Haggard's novel, *Alexis of Israel*. I haven't read it since childhood, though partial recall suggests it was indifferently plotted and badly written. It told the story of the Jewish Exodus from Egypt, and, as always with Haggard, it got most of its facts right. For instance, the Nineteenth Dynasty Pharaoh who enslaved the Israelites is not Ramesses II but his son Merneptah, who is the modern Egyptologist's choice also (though I think Haggard calls him Menephah—spelling of Egyptian names hadn't been reformed at the time of the century and Haggard uses older styles like Seti for Sethos and Amenhotep for Amenophis). *Alexis of Israel*, though it belongs to a period in Haggard's career when he was out of favour with the critics, had one passionate admirer, Rudyard Kipling. Kipling also credited Haggard with having inspired *Nada the Lily*. This was the next Haggard novel I read and I still believe it is a masterpiece, his greatest achievement and one of the finest novels of the nineteenth century. Haggard was a great collector of facts and eye-witness accounts, and the energy he put into assisting the annexation of the Transvaal and endeavouring to reform farming at home was employed to better purpose in his reconstruction of Zulu imperialism. *Nada* is the beautiful girl loved and lost by the warrior Umslopogaga (who makes an earlier appearance as an old soldier of fortune in the novel, *Allan Quatermain*). But the book's protagonists are all members of the Royal House of the Zulus, notably the tyrant Chaka and his deceitful brother Dingaan. It is told by the Witch Doctor Mopo and includes such incidental figures as Umslopogaga's friend, Galazi the Wolf Man, who inspired Kipling's *Mowgli*.

The *Lily*, Haggard performed the remarkable feat of creating an epic about a civilization which white men of his day knew almost nothing about and tended to despise. It took this administrator and Imperialist to gauge where the last inheritance of Homer lay. The events are not mythical, being set in the decade after the Napoleonic War, but they have a greater grandeur and pathos than Fenimore Cooper's more literary stories about the American Indians.

*Nada the Lily* suggests what the Aegenean epics might have been like if they had not been polished by Homer. Haggard's Zulus have more in common with Homer's Achaeans than Virgil's rugged Trojans have. The very barbarity of *Nada the Lily*, with its lulls "washing their spears in blood", its magic rituals and its initiation ceremonies should lead to a renewal of the book's popularity in these days of witchcraft magazines and organized genocide.

According to Morton Cohen on Rider Haggard, the *Budget* disliked his bloodthirsty epics. "He must wipe out or two every morning breakfast, devise new massacres as he chaps his own through gore at luncheon. Haggard was only serving schoolroom so long literary loved facts: epics had been forgotten that the blood was real. Haggard shared his fondness for the occult for an adventure story writer's thinking of Conan Doyle as a thing also, and his worst book, which indulges in the dreadful story, even though took it seriously.

The Rider Haggard came to over sixty volumes and read only part of it, but there at least have not faded—*Libby, Allan Quatermain* and *Sahomani's Affairs*. Nor has he lacked admirers among writers very different order, as Greene's essay in *The Last Lines* comes from Gilbert C. S. Lewis and Henry Miller. Final oddly about Rider Haggard very appropriate to an EEC—we owe it to him that the meat in our marked with his country's is curious that he and Kipling foresaw that geography was about the eclipse of Britain, not decadence at will. Both were had historical talent lay in telling stories, wrote his masterpiece as people utterly unlike the book exalted.

Writing the passage about Rider Haggard brought back other memories of books childhood, especially those of the 1930s, when they were among adults in the 1930s, they are rubbish, but standing word *Arabia* then, I could apply it to them, especially had a claim which today literary best-sellers lack. I call name them quickly: Axel *The Story of San Michele*, *The Wilder's Bridge of San Luis*, Heirve Allen's *Ambo*, and three saccharine pieces of the *Arabia* by the Italian Danie who wrote in English. I don't anybody in England today *The Maker of Heaven* today *The Gate of Happy Spain*, *The Temple of Cowly Eyes*. These curvy erotic and accounts of life in the Peking of 1908 had sought to weaken the authority of the *Arabia*, or traditional peasant community, by encouraging the most enterprising and efficient peasants to contract out of it, and set up as independent small farmers. What would happen to the mass of huddled a middle-aged, the enfeebled *Arabia* was not very seriously considered. Those who could not keep afloat would have to work as labourers on the farms of their more prosperous neighbours, or starve, or emigrate to America—core orientation of *Arabia*. Steps had been taken towards the settlement of a million or more independent peasants when war supervened and reduced the Russian countryside to confusion.



Ukrainian peasants' tea room in Kharkov, maintained by the authorities for peasants coming into town from their villages.

# Bolsheviks and peasants

THE STORY of the Russian peasantry in the first decade after the revolution of 1917 is full of reversals of fortune, and full of pitfalls, as *Todor Shatin's* *Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia 1918-1925*, 253pp, Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, £4.50.

The revolution gave the peasants their heads, with results that the Bolsheviks could not, and hardly attempted to, control. The landlords' estates were looted and taken over. So far, so good. But the Stolypin holdings disappeared also, virtually overnight, and were reabsorbed into the *mir*. The puzzle is, as Mr Shatin points out, is that this happened apparently without resistance. The independent peasant abandoned his independence and resumed his place as a leader of the *mir*. Peasant solidarity had asserted itself against the landlord—but also against attempts by the government to organize it from the outside.

The paradoxical result of the revolution was therefore to restore and confirm, through the initiative of the peasants themselves, the authority of a traditional peasant institution which "liberals" and "progressives", even under the lust of the Tsars, had come to regard as an obstacle to agricultural reform and to the modernization of the economy. And this was the fundamental problem of a revolutionary regime which had seized power in the cities and military centres of a country of whose population more than 80 per cent were peasants who had never seen a town. In the 1920s a few Bolsheviks still believed that the *mir* could be won over, and used as an instrument for the establishment of Soviet rule in the countryside. But the party leaders more cogently—like Stolypin before them—recognized the tightly knit, inward-looking peasant community as a barrier to any substantial reform of the present economy, or of the national economy as a whole.

Lenin, from the beginning of his career, had brought his Marxist learning to bear on the fundamental problem of the peasant. He believed that capitalism—in the form of a market economy—had already

begin to impinge on Russian peasant life; that this must bring with it a process of "differentiation" between the rich and successful peasant and the unsuccessful indigent; and that this would eventually produce an oppressed and exploited rural proletariat, which, in alliance with the urban proletariat and under its leadership, would carry the revolution to the Russian countryside. This came to constitute, as Mr Shatin points out, rigid framework of party doctrine. But Lenin was quite as much of a pragmatist in his attitude to the peasantry as to other practical problems; and, in the famous "April theses" of 1917 (a passage which Mr Shatin does not quote), he was notably cautious: "We cannot say exactly how profound is the class cleavage within the peasantry. . . . Such questions can be decided only by experience."

The issue was not doctrinal but practical. The peasantry, in the anarchy of the revolution, had taken things into its own hands with the connivance of the revolutionary leaders (who, indeed, could do nothing about it). How could the newly-fledged regime, run by a pre-revolutionary party with few rural members and no rural experience, impose itself on the "dark", primitive, and formidable mass of peasants? "Divide and rule" was a precept older than Marxism. The obvious tactic was to divide the peasantry, and to seek friends and auxiliaries in its ranks; and this, in the light of what had happened in the towns and of the whole revolutionary ethos, could only be among the poorer peasants. But the "committees of poor peasants" set up in the summer of 1918 proved a hopeless failure; they lasted less than six months. The attempt to establish village Soviets to counteract, and eventually to take over the authority of the *mir* was scarcely more successful. It persisted throughout the 1920s, but, with all the power of the Government behind it, did not really shake the loyalty of the peasant to the *mir*.

The introduction in 1921 of the New Economic Policy—a concordat with the peasantry as a whole—

solved the immediate crisis of peasant discontent and incipient revolt. It lasted for five or six years. During this time, the wounds of the revolution and civil war had healed. The habits of normal life, and some measure of prosperity, had returned to the towns. The party had consolidated its power, and its bolder spirits were eager to press forward to the first goal of the revolution—the industrialization and socialization of the economy.

But the peasants, also, had recovered from their own nightmare of famine and devastation. Harvests had been good; the well-to-do peasant had accumulated grain stocks in his barns. Everyone was reassured and ready to settle down into the old ways. The upheaval produced by a massive programme of industrialization would be stubbornly resisted. The clash between the innovating processes of the revolution and the traditional peasant way of life enshrined in the *mir*, which had been apparent in the early days of the revolution, now emerged in an embittered and intensified form. The way was open to the tragic battlefield of collectivization.

This complex (and increasingly desperate) situation provided throughout the 1920s a field-day for economists and statisticians. The party economists (supported by surviving economists of the old "classical" school who had been behind Stolypin) demonstrated (with a wealth of statistics that the gap was widening between the well-to-do and the poorer peasants. The statisticians were extremely resourceful. Since correct estimates of income were elusive, and areas of land held misleading implications, such items as the possession of animals and implements, and amounts of land leased and labour employed, were drawn into their calculations.

All this was enough to show that a substantial number of peasants had grown richer under NEP. This was, after all, a natural result of reopening a free market for grain; and, when serious requisitions began again early in 1928, the well-to-do peasants had large stocks of grain in their barns. But it was not enough to show that this was the sole, or even the predominant, trend. Mr Shatin suggests, primarily the product of a rigid adherence to Marxist dogma. They were offered in aid of a policy. If masses of the peasantry were in fact impoverished and decimated, they could be mobilized as allies against the wealthier peasants. Failing this, the prospects seemed—and were—grim.

An alternative analysis seized on the fact that the unit in the Russian countryside was not the individual peasant, but the family household or *dvor*. The size and composition of the *dvor* was constantly changing; the number of workers had to be adjusted to the number of mouths to be fed. Moreover, land-holdings were subject to periodic (in some places, annual) readjustments and redistributions by the *mir*, so that, along with economic factors favouring differentiation, an automatic levelling process was going on between *dvors*. In so far as this analysis had political implications, it reflected the old Populist vision of a self-contained peasant Russia consisting of equal family farms clustered round the *mir*, impervious to the turmoil of capitalism and the modern world. In the twelve years after the revolution, the number of *dvors* increased by something like fifty per cent. The causes and consequences of this increase, probably due to social as much as to economic changes, have never been thoroughly investigated. There may well not be adequate material for a full inquiry.

Finally, NEP inspired yet a third school of statisticians, who argued that the tendencies towards differentiation and levelling ultimately cancelled one another out, and that both neglected other factors—variations of climate and weather, changing terms of trade, fiscal policy and even "random oscillations"—all of which were seen as promoting cyclical or levelling movements rather than basic change. This analysis denied both the theory of differentiation between upper and lower

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strata, and the view that the regime had anything to gain by promoting it, and encouraged the NEP view of the peasantry as a homogeneous whole. In political terms, it favoured the indefinite prolongation of NEP, shying away from the dilemmas this would give rise to.

Mr Shanin has expounded these different types of statistical analyses in great detail, with full reference to the sources, in a way that will make his study very valuable to students of the subject. He himself is a fervent champion of the NEP analysis, which he calls "multifactorial" and "multidirectional". But his argument reveals some of the weaknesses, as well as the merits, of this method. Not only does it lead to no positive conclusion—only to a refutation of other methods—but it involves scepticism of the validity of the whole statistical approach. What the Marxists and Populists tried to do was to isolate a single factor which they regarded as critical and dominant, though it need not have been the only factor at work. But no analysis which professes to be comprehensive is always open to the

reproach that it is not comprehensive enough. Can one put much faith in "multifactorial" analysis which omits such factors as the extensive migration to the towns, the increase in the number of rivers, the wide variations in geographical configurations and types of cultivation, the introduction of more modern implements and techniques?

Consciously or unconsciously, Mr Shanin in his last two chapters, which are devoted to a sensible though rather unsystematic review of the conflicts in rural society under NEP, seems to feel something of the same scepticism. He drops altogether the statistical preoccupations of the central part of the book, and nearly everything he writes is unaffected by them. It is indisputable that the peasantry, in defiance of Soviet hopes and expectations, presented an almost unbroken front of resistance to pressures from above. But Mr Shanin's assumption that this was somehow connected with what he calls "the absence of socioeconomic differentiation" in the peasantry remains unproved.

There is plenty of evidence to

show that differentiation did exist, that the poorer peasant was conscious of his dependence on his more prosperous neighbours, and was prudently willing to follow their lead, but this was just as compatible with increasing, as with diminishing, differentiation. It is true that Bolshevik and Soviet leaders "lacked a perception of the real social processes going on in the Russian countryside", but this was not because they lacked statistics or used the wrong statistics, but because statistics were irrelevant. The problem they faced was the age-long problem of the opposition of conservative agriculture to innovative industrial interests, of country to town. It was not a problem that could be solved by quantification.

Two minor criticisms may be made. Mr Shanin, anxious to establish his credentials as a sociologist, finds it necessary to flaunt what is no doubt the most up-to-date technical jargon. The widening or narrowing of the gap in wealth between different strata of the population is not a difficult concept. What is gained by wrapping it up in the

guise of "centrifugal or centripetal mobility", even when we get reminders like "centripetal (leveling)" and "egallitarian (centripetal)", both on the same page, and a nice diagram, twice over, with arrows and circles to explain the difference between centripetal, centrifugal and cyclical mobility? Take a passage like the following:

The rural outsiders to a Russian peasant community could be classified by a three-fold typology: neighbours, strangers, and plenipotentiaries . . . Plenipotentiaries outsiders would be agents of external centres of power acting as their rural transmission belts.

If all means something that could be said so much more simply and clearly.

The other criticism relates to some rather flimsy philosophical underpinning. The Marxists are accused of "economic determinism" and the Populists of "biological determinism", determinism being, of course, a dirty word. But to say that process A leads to result X is no more deterministic than to say that processes A, B, C and D

taken together produce X; and Shanin in this showing himself connected of some kind of cyclical determinism.

The practical point is different. To isolate a single significant aspect of a phenomenon is often the necessary step towards doing something about it. Blunders are only expected: those who sought to demonstrate statistically the impact of a single factor on the Russian peasant rural community are not least fatalistic, than the belief in since multiple causes—some of the purely random and accidental—could at work, nothing much could be done about it. Mr Shanin has given an excellent review of the statistical controversy, and shed interesting side-lights on Russian rural life in the period (including an illuminating appendix on peasant land interference), and his book is welcome on that account. But I am not sure that it is just as where we were.

are well for the future of bookbinding in this country. It is my mind wholly in the fact that the principal British craft bookbinders have taken up work amicably together within the structure of what must now be one of the most important and influential bookbinding societies in the world.

IVOR ROBINSON, President, Designer Bookbinders, 67 Upper Rinal, Kensington, Oxford.

## Book Subscription Lists

Sir, May I add something in support of Paul J. Korshin's letter (June 23) on multiple book subscriptions as a form of eighteenth-century literary patronage?

First, it is worth considering that such subscriptions were not merely large payments of money, but a much more direct form of financial support. Gay writes to Addison to letter which C. F. Burgess argues dates from December, 1713, and relates to the publication of *The Fanny*. "Sir, I have sent you only two copies of my Poems, though by your Subscription you are entitled to ten, whatever Books you want more than one or two. I was delighted to find that you had the right to all the copies he had paid for, but obviously he was not really expected to want more than one or two."

Secondly, Mr Korshin's use of Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730) with its dozen subscribers for multiple copies may tend to suggest a later emergence of the multiple subscription phenomenon than is the case. Even using his definition of more than two copies to qualify as a "patron" Pope did as well as Thomson, whose much more expensive *The Dunciad* (1729) and *Prior* attracted more than twenty "patrons" for his *Poems* of 1718.

Finally, multiple subscriptions far more than other traditional forms of patronage or normal forms of subscription offer a wealth of evidence for the degree of political support. In the massive demonstration which the Tories made for Prior in 1718 many seem to have been moved by their closeness to the Tory ministry, and the Whig support for Addison's posthumous *Poems* (1731) reflects even more in the way of finance, Stanhope and Sunderland offer two and five copies respectively while Charles Stanhope tops the list with ten; Walpole, still a Whig after all, takes a single copy, but Viscountess Townshend is left to bid the hunters for her disgruntled lot.

I. M. TREADWELL, 31 Packington Street, London N1.

Stefan Zweig

Sir, Your reviewer of my biography of Stefan Zweig, *European of Europe* (April 28), is entitled to his view that Zweig deserves to be forgotten—though I myself, in common with many others, have not qualified to judge, consider him misguided. He owes it to your readers, however, to give a fair summary of the intention of my book, which was clearly stated for him in the preface, and an assessment of how far that intention has been achieved, before proceeding to his own misinterpretation of it.

To relate in detail the life-story of a man and writer is not necessarily to pronounce him great—a word which I do not recall using of Zweig, except to say that some of his works merit inclusion in the greatest of twentieth-century German literature. I claimed only that this complex and sensitive personality deserved describing and remembering in the context of the Europe of both yesterday and today, for which his "ideal of enlightened humanism" was, to my mind, highly relevant. A fair review should surely state and assess the author's intention before concluding that the book need not have been written at all.

I do not, as it happens, share your reviewer's ungrudging contempt for the doctoral dissertation; for in spite of the decline in a "Doctor-in-Urity" which seeks its subjects in ever-obscurer corners of the mind and more trivial subjects, not all aspirants in the cap are guilty. Among the subscribers to the second

I incline therefore to take as a compliment his comparison of my book to "the archetypal doctoral dissertation". Be that as it may, I must take issue with the false syllogism implied in his review: "This subject is [deservedly] obscure; all doctoral dissertations [are] obscure; therefore this subject [is] obscure; therefore the author is a Doctor." The author, as a minimum of inquiry by your reviewer would have established, is not in fact a Doctor; and I would have thought the preface made abundantly clear that despite an apparatus of scholarship which I strive to make as unobtrusive as possible, the book was not written as a dissertation.

DONALD PRATER, Department of German, University of Canterbury, Christchurch 1, New Zealand.

## 'Mansfield Park'

Sir, To develop Ellen Jordan's point (June 23) a little further, an important element in Jane Austen's attitude toward publication with a remark made by George II to Lord Hervey: "You ought not to write verse; it's beneath your rank; leave such work to little Mr Pope, it is his trade." Unfortunately Collins did not give his source for this anecdote. It does not occur in Hervey's memoirs of George II's reign, or in his letters, published and unpublished, all of which I have read. Perhaps one of your readers can identify its origin.

ROBERT HALLSAND, The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, London SW1Y 5ER.

## Wells

Sir,—By a careless oversight in my review of Wells's *Outline of History*, I misattributed the reference to Buckle in Clackhams's *The Cherry Orchard*. It was, of course, made by the clerk, Enkhlov, not by the novelist.

YOUR REVIEWER.

# To the Editor

## F. D. Maurice

Sir, In the article in the TLS (June 23) your reviewer comments that Maurice "would not have approved" of the practice of "preparing girls for the universities and every kind of professional training." I would like to ask the writer on what evidence this assertion is based, as it has greatly surprised me at Queen's College.

S. C. P. HERRZ, Principal, Queen's College, 43-49 Harley Street, London W1N 2BT.

Our reviewer writes: "The Principal of Queen's College asks for the evidence of my comment that Maurice would not have approved of the practice of preparing girls for the universities and every kind of professional training. In paragraph part of my comment, she inadvertently misquotes me. What I said was: 'preparing girls for the universities and every kind of professional training, a development which Maurice in 1848 would not have approved.' The date and the development deliberately because I wanted to show that a vital institution like Queen's College must and does evolve and that in doing so it can still

draw inspiration from its founder while adopting policies which at its foundation it would not have approved. My authority for this statement is Maurice himself as quoted by Olive Brown on page 200 of her book and also as quoted in *The Cause* by Ray Stoney, page 168. I give here the exact words used in *The Cause* which is fuller than Miss Brown's. The date is 1855 and it comes from his 'Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects'.

hope by this language, I have guarded myself against the supposition that I would educate ladies for the kind of tasks which belong to our professions. In America some are maintaining that they should take degrees and practice as physicians. I not only do not see my way to such a result, I not only should not think that any college I was concerned in should be leading to it; but I should think there could be no better reason for founding a college than to remove the slightest craving for such a state of things, by giving a more healthful direction to minds which might otherwise be so. The more pains we take to call forth and employ the faculties which belong characteristically to each sex, the less it will be intruding upon the province which, and the will of God, has assigned to the other.

I certainly do not intend to suggest that Maurice did not desire the highest standard of cultural education for girls. He assuredly did. But he was violently opposed to the rule-race of examinations and competition far careers and felt that this was already corrupting the education of men and that girls must at all costs be saved from it. There is a revealing letter to Kingsley written much later in 1869 (*The Life* Vol. 2, page 591):

I do not know any man who has seriously thought of our present examination system who does not feel that it is undermining the physical, intellectual and moral life of young men, and that it may do this with even more terrible effect for girls if they are admitted, as of course they should be, to all the privileges of the other sex. You must be aware of all the degrading talk about what will pay in an examination, which is heard at the Universities. . . . You know how parents and physicians, like grown over the loss of physical energy, and the shattering of the nerves which they see in young men who have either succeeded or failed in their trials. And what is the reward? . . . The writer in the *Cambridge University Magazine* who possesses considerable experience, declared the other day that he could not get men to take any interest in Shakespeare unless there was a compulsory examination for him, with a Tripos list!

And for the girls! Will any of the accomplished medical men justify the use of these rules for the limbs of daughters, as well as sons? As far as they have yet gone, I believe the examinations, to which they have been subjected, have been merely honest tests of what they know without the taint of competition. That I am satisfied with the order of Cambridge while Mr. Markby conducts the arrangements of them, but I do retrace the desire for equality should lead to their being equalled with us in no more than in renown. This is really the heart of Maurice's

position in 1864. He wanted girls to have the same educational privileges as men so long as these could be kept clear of the rule-race of degree and professional examinations.

Sir,—The June 23 issue contained a review entitled "The Search for a Christian Society" in which your reviewer discussed, among other publications, the reprint of *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*. His principal comment about the title was both gratifying and disturbing: "One can only be immensely grateful for this reprint, while deploring its disastrously high price."

Such comments about the prices of reprints must, by now, be as tedious to readers of reviews as they are to publishers of reprints. One rarely sees reviews of reprints without them.

Clearly reviewers must be as free to comment upon the prices of books as upon their contents. However, would it not be preferable if such comments were based on some knowledge of the economics of publishing? Scholarly reprints are, obviously, produced in extremely small quantities compared to the quantities in which more general current books are published. One need not be an economist to realize the effect this must have on production costs and, in turn, on price.

Reprints are produced in short runs for very specialized markets. As long as they are, their prices will inevitably seem high if irrelevantly compared to normal book prices. If reviewers bore this in mind while writing their reviews they might present a more balanced view to their readers.

CHARLES K. BLISS, Managing Director, Gregg International Publishing Ltd, 1 Westwood, Farnborough, Hampshire.

## Perception

Sir,—I would appear to me that the controversy between advocates of passive and active theories of perception ("The way to the truth", June 23) is merely another of those amusing verbal bewitchments: a lot of huff and puff which leaves the discussion almost entirely vacuous.

It must surely be immediately apparent that whether one prefers "active" or "passive" these sensory polarities are in no way mutually contradictory, but are quite compatible definitions of different areas of the same explanation, and as such should not really occasion such contradictory explanations as the article "Sensory thinking" on active theory of perception by Richard Gregory. Conscious perception is an "active" process, in the sense that it discriminately supplements immediate sense-data with (usually) appropriate archival information, and is even predictive in the sense that it anticipates extrapolations evidentially take place.

But surely we do not suggest that these functions of the brain afford to such a degree of capriciousness and independence of action that they work independently upon us: would not this active process nevertheless be simultaneously one in which conscious adjustments/relationships could still be found? It seems to me an incredible consequence of reflection on this matter that one will similarly conclude, as I do, that our learned aestheticians have been arguing around bogabobias that should really be there of all.

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Clearly reviewers must be as free to comment upon the prices of books as upon their contents. However, would it not be preferable if such comments were based on some knowledge of the economics of publishing? Scholarly reprints are, obviously, produced in extremely small quantities compared to the quantities in which more general current books are published. One need not be an economist to realize the effect this must have on production costs and, in turn, on price.

Reprints are produced in short runs for very specialized markets. As long as they are, their prices will inevitably seem high if irrelevantly compared to normal book prices. If reviewers bore this in mind while writing their reviews they might present a more balanced view to their readers.

CHARLES K. BLISS, Managing Director, Gregg International Publishing Ltd, 1 Westwood, Farnborough, Hampshire.

## Perception

Sir,—I would appear to me that the controversy between advocates of passive and active theories of perception ("The way to the truth", June 23) is merely another of those amusing verbal bewitchments: a lot of huff and puff which leaves the discussion almost entirely vacuous.

It must surely be immediately apparent that whether one prefers "active" or "passive" these sensory polarities are in no way mutually contradictory, but are quite compatible definitions of different areas of the same explanation, and as such should not really occasion such contradictory explanations as the article "Sensory thinking" on active theory of perception by Richard Gregory. Conscious perception is an "active" process, in the sense that it discriminately supplements immediate sense-data with (usually) appropriate archival information, and is even predictive in the sense that it anticipates extrapolations evidentially take place.

But surely we do not suggest that these functions of the brain afford to such a degree of capriciousness and independence of action that they work independently upon us: would not this active process nevertheless be simultaneously one in which conscious adjustments/relationships could still be found? It seems to me an incredible consequence of reflection on this matter that one will similarly conclude, as I do, that our learned aestheticians have been arguing around bogabobias that should really be there of all.

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## Isaac Deutscher

Sir,—I was glad to learn (June 30) that *The Tragedy of Polish Communism* by Isaac Deutscher had appeared in an English version as a Roneographed pamphlet, which Brian Pearce kindly sent me a few days ago.

May I take this opportunity to correct what your reviewer and Mr Pearce's interview was given in 1957 (that is, after the "Polish October") and was published in *Les Temps Modernes* in March, 1958.

TAMARA DEUTSCHER, 2a Kilderspore Gardens, London NW3 7SR.

## Designer Bookbinders

Sir,—I am grateful to your correspondent (June 23) for all his comments on my "Ecclesiastical" binding. Before using the letters of which he complains I had sent an impression of the whole alphabet to the Monotype Corporation asking if they could make the type for me myself was unable to do so. In his reply the Typographical Manager stated that he was unable to identify it with any particular face, some letters bearing a resemblance to Bastard, some to Florin. He concluded—as I rather anticipated—that it was a face designed especially for the bookbinder for leading on letters.

I had available an alphabet of Bruce Rogers' "Centaur" face (a face I used on my two other bindings in the exhibition) whose letters were of suitable

height but whose use in the counter space of this small binding was excluded due to the greater width of the characters, notably the "M" and "W". I could have used a smaller point size of "







# One world in four volumes

IN the years since the publication of *The Penguin Companion to Literature*, a large number of contributors, most of them academics, have been enlisted. The enterprise is undoubtedly worth while, for the world is certainly not politically a single world, but culturally it is becoming at least potentially so. In literature, as in music and the visual arts, we feel a need to have some knowledge by report of what we may never know by acquaintance.

David Daiches, however, in his preface to the first of these volumes, *Britain and the Commonwealth*, points out that their editing presents a number of problems which, even in principle, cannot be easily solved. Literature, in the narrow sense, consists of poetry, fiction and drama. But clearly a bookman, being, if only because of their stylistic or imaginative power, to the world of literature also. And criticism, as in Johnson's *Life of the Poets*, can itself be part of the living fabric of a nation's literature.

Other difficulties faced Professor Daiches. The literature of these islands and of the Commonwealth includes, for instance, distinguished work by French Canadian writers. It includes Old English literature and some works in Latin, like all the works of the great Scottish humanist George Buchanan. There is a considerable Celtic literature in old and modern Irish Gaelic, old and modern Welsh, and in Scottish Gaelic. There are the rather dull fossil remains of Cornish. There are works in Middle English and Middle Scots, of varying difficulty for modern readers. From the seventeenth century to High Mass and his disciples, there is a literature of wit, in contrast to Middle Scots, can be called modern vernacular Scots. There is at least one fairly modern English dialect poet of importance, William James. There are Anglo-Celtic writers like Synge who write in what is essentially a Celtic idiom.

Furthermore, a set of volumes of this sort cannot confine itself to what might broadly be called high literature—the kind taught in universities. Agatha Christie and P. G. Wodehouse, for instance, are part of our common culture (though it is doubtful if some other popular writers included here, like Sax Rohmer or J. Storer Clouston, are part of that culture in the same way). Professor Daiches's task could have been undertaken only by a polymath of genial catholic taste. Faced with two opposing dangers, he has opted for unduly tolerant comprehensiveness rather than unduly rigorous selectivity. His foreword is a model of good sense and modesty. He has had to "curtail or expand" certain contributions, but with "no attempt... to remove differences of flavour and kind, or emphasis". He warns us also that this is "a reference book, not a collection of critical essays. Its aim is to lead the reader beyond itself."

Fair enough. But, regrettably, this first and, to British readers, most important volume in this series is not what it might have been. Above all else, a reference book should be accurate, and the number of errors of fact in *Britain and the Commonwealth* is alarmingly high. Some are minute—wrong dates, misspellings of names, and so on. Others are much more serious, and suggest that some contributors have simply failed to do their homework. Sometimes the contributor's knowledge of his own subject seems extraordinarily sketchy. Sometimes, and this is perhaps more damaging, an author seems to have been assigned to a contributor who has collected the facts about him efficiently enough but does not sound as if he were really interested.

The entries in this as in the other volumes range in length from a short paragraph on a two-column page to, for Shakespeare, five columns including a select bibliography in smaller type. Perhaps particular contributors were given too heavy a load: some of those who make the worst errors elsewhere write some of the most satisfactory articles. The sad truth is that the better stored the writer's memory, the more he is

**THE PENGUIN COMPANION TO LITERATURE**  
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tempted, especially when writing in haste, to trust to it and not to check his references. If Julian and Aldous Huxley had, in truth, been the sons, not the grandsons, of T. H. Huxley, one would indeed have to congratulate him on the virility of his later years. Any scholar, under pressure, might make such a slip. It is more gushing to say that a distinguished woman novelist, still alive and writing, died in 1964, or that John Buchan's first two attempts at fiction were autobiographical treatments of his African experiences—one was written when he was at Glasgow University, the other when he was at Balliol years before he went to Africa. Did he ever write anything that could properly be called an autobiographical novel about Africa? *Prisoner John*? Surely not. It would be tedious to list all the plain errors of fact of this sort. They can be put right in a later edition (though, meanwhile, how reliable a handbook is this for the undergraduates or sixth formers who may buy the paperback?).

What is more worrying, though admittedly this is rather subjective, is the number of cases in which the facts all seem right but the total impression seems all wrong. Again and again the entries convey a kind of workmanlike perfunctoriness. The need for compression and a lack of real liking for the author dealt with seem too often to work insidiously together. Here is an example about Somerville, of Somerville and Ross:

She is best known for the novels she wrote with her cousin... the best of which are *The Road to Charlotte* (1894), *Sunne Experiences of an Irish R.M.* (Resident Magistrate) (1899), *Further Experiences of an Irish R.M.* (1900), and *In Mr Knox's Country* (1905). These tales are well written, humorous and competent pictures of a now vanished Irish rural society under the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, seen from an upper class point of view.

*The Road to Charlotte* is a tragic novel, its three main characters are from the lower middle classes; its theme is sexual and social frustration. It is not the work of the kind of Irish Angela Thirkell this description suggests. The Irish R.M. books are not novels but short stories, linked by a single narrator and a single area of action, and by recurrent characters. Yet this brief entry cannot be faulted for "facts": it is simply a case of imperfect sympathy.

Here is a briefer example of the misleading effects of extreme compression, even without imperfect sympathy. It is from a piece about F. R. Leavis:

... a book on the English novel, *The Great Tradition* (Jane Austen, George Eliot, James Conrad, D. H. Lawrence) (1948)

This is strictly accurate. In his first chapter Dr Leavis does cite these five authors as constituting "the great tradition". But would a reader new to him guess that the book does not contain separate studies on Jane Austen or Lawrence, and does contain a very important essay on Dickens?

The broader question of exclusions and inclusions is more difficult. In the single field of twentieth-century poetry, for instance, there is a case for including poets like John Freeman, Humbert Wolfe, or Alfred Noyes, who are not likely to enjoy a revival, but who do reflect current

of taste in their time. Yet the space could have been used for living or only recently dead poets. One sad exclusion is Norman Cameron, whose reputation has steadily risen since his untimely death in the 1950s. Scottish poetry is generously treated, as one would expect in a volume edited by Professor Daiches; but George Bruce, George Mackay Brown, Robert Garioch all certainly deserved a place. On the Irish shore, one dead poet, T. R. Higgins, and a number of living ones, Seamus Heaney, John Montague, Richard Murphy and

Probably the three European writers most widely read and loved in England are Chekhov, Tolstoy, and Dostoevsky. The articles on all three are fine pieces of biographical and critical compression. Cavafy (Kavafis) hasn't a large following in this country, but he has what might be called a special popularity. The entry on him is excellently compact with a very good short bibliography. With these few comments made, *Europe* can be left deservedly to find its own audience among the kind of English reader who has an imperfect know-

## Under Tracy's Folly

A gun emplacement halfway up the kopje—  
Unmanned ashlar, strewn with lanceolate  
Foliage of eucalyptus. Like water  
Light tumbled through the branches at its curved shape

When, children carrying arrows and a bow,  
We found, still peering at the Pretoria road  
Through a growth of three decades of light timber  
Forgotten breastworks, Buur or maybe British.

Khaki uniform or slouch hat, whichever  
Supervised the building of it, for certain  
Visualize a bluntheaded iron hammer  
Wielded by a native, tap-tap-tapping

To dress the stone, and the grain of black knuckles  
White with pulverized rock, as, balancing, the  
Hand sets the piece where it may sit for ever.  
Our Zulu garden-boy built a wall like that.

DAVID WRIGHT

Above all, the senior Irish living poet, Austin Clarke, seems more worthy of a place than some of the English figures chosen.

It is to be hoped, anyway, that in future editions some of these articles will be deleted and others substituted. G. E. Moore should be in for his influence on Eliot. But it all must have been, even for a man of very great energy, a snail

Of the other volumes, the European one must have been even more difficult to organize than Professor Daiches's. Eugenio Montale is a great poet, and he deserves an allotment of space comparable to that devoted to T. S. Eliot both in the British and Commonwealth volume and as a poet born in the United States, in the American and Latin-American volume. (Henry James gets the same double treatment, and the angles of approach make an interesting contrast.) Montale gets, in fact, about half a column. The bibliography lists G. Kay's translations of 1964, but not Edwin Morgan's rather earlier selected translations in the subscription volumes issued from time to time by the Reading School of Art.

There are a number of questionable judgments, but they read like first-hand judgments. Some modern American reputations remain controversial: that of Ezra Pound, above all; but also those of Gertrude Stein, William Carlos Williams, Scott Fitzgerald, Faulkner (until fairly recently), Hemingway,

ledge of a number of European languages, and a fairly wide knowledge of European literature in translation.

The third volume in this series, at least in its Latin American portion, has to set itself the task of being both drastically selective and brutally informative rather than that of propping up, with dates and facts, what in a way we know already.

The North American part of the volume is admirably crisp in its writing and accurate in its treatment of bibliographical detail. The selection of authors, also, perhaps because there was less space available, seems more properly and rigorously selective than in the British and Commonwealth volume. Propertius, though, do not always seem very fine poet indeed, gets a third of a column while Allen Ginsberg gets nearly a whole column. Laura Riding, a seminal influence both on poetry and poetic thought in her period, is even more briefly treated. Ralph Ellison and James Baldwin are treated more briefly than one expects, though the brevity through compression, not skipping.

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Henry Miller. The articles finely combine as necessary asperity with spirit. The choice of page is also good.

The editor of the Latin section had a harder job than has done it very well names best known in the world are Borges and Neruda, short articles which contain at least of the quality of writers who should be known as those on the Nicaraguan Parra and the Argentine Carrera Andrade.

In the African section, fourth volume, the late (Kigabo) is credited as "one of the most exciting writers in Africa", and we might feel that the former influence was that of Eliot. The poet from Gabon, surely he is Pierre Peter, and to find that very fine writer in Africans and Uys Krige, dealt with with proper respect, as a civilized and persecuted African poet. Dennis Brutus, on the Nigerian drama, Soyinka mentions that famous play, *The Lion and the Jewel*, "presents the modern civilization as the African villagers' indifference is certainly a very lively play but a well-known poet and critic described it as the opposite of the defence of a reaction against the emergence of a new individualist.

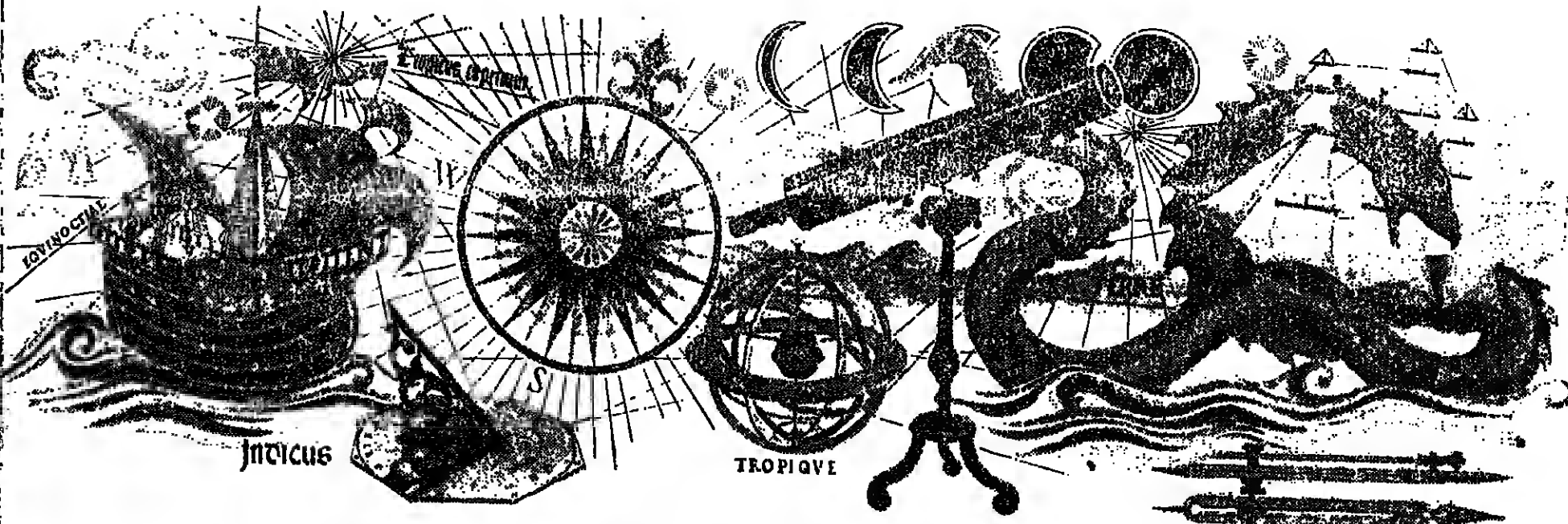
Turning to the section on Classics and to Plato and Aristotle for instance, pleasant to be told that *Sophocles* [sic] with his Non-being, or (to use jargon with significant predication) "and that the is a classic of literary criticism has at times been this is due to the tenderness especially in France to the principles of observation in the one form of literature at of time.

The character of Cicero, often disliked, is treated with a certain sympathy. The excellent *Properius* contains in bibliography, this balance on Proust's *Homage to Sganarelle*; it is "lively and sometimes missing the matter captures much of the writing in this classical seems to bear out Evelyn's remark that learning in school, even if most of it is ten afterwards, has a basis on one's prose.

Apart from the very good Anna Comensal and Michael, and additions to others in Robert Graves's *Countess* and Sir Steven Runciman's, Byzantine literature is that well known to most readers, and the short section is interesting mainly for its awareness of its role.

The same might be said of Asian sections, apart from the mention of China and Japan rather surprising, at a first find Maltese literature under Asian literature, but a Norman Douglas called the "Catholic Arabs". The Maltese, we learn, in the article only Maltese writer thought of notice, Monsignor of Psalms, who died in his year in 1961, "is a Semite having affinities with the Tuosia and traces of the Phoenician tongue". The book for most readers, of this, is Byzantine and African section he that of exploring a terra

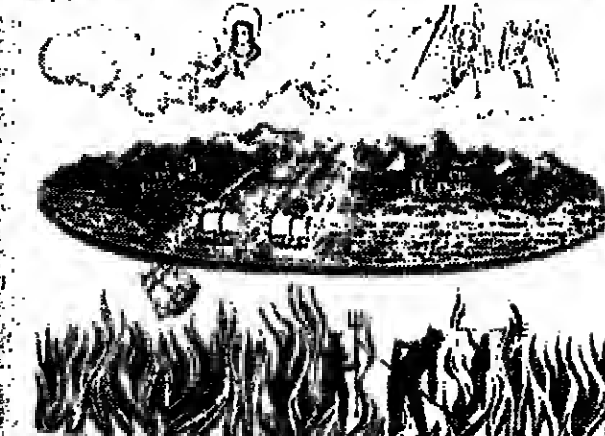
It is a paradox about this reference work that, the locally known about another literature and language, the fascinated one becomes. It includes to the literatures of space, of England, Europe, America, should be more so. How far compilations of the help, as really to grapple with own culture must remain very an open question.



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And for 1430 years, because Ptolemy remained more or less text book, only the Mediterranean world was represented on maps with any accuracy.

Come the Renaissance, cartography emerged from the Dark Ages. Ptolemy's *Geographia* was rediscovered and translated into Latin. Printing and engraving were invented. Hence maps—previously hand-painted collector items—came into mass circulation and became available to explorers and adventurers of the 15th century.

So the great voyages of discovery began. Vasco da Gama



opened up the sea route to India, and Christopher Columbus discovered San Salvador.

In 1570 Mercator pieced this wealth of information together and compiled the first modern world atlas, and Blaeu, in 1630, compiled a beautiful atlas which scholars of cartography revere even today.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Dutch, Germans and French used increasingly better surveying techniques. Governments woke up to the value of cartography as an aid to trading and warfare, and mapped their own countries.

So, national maps having achieved a fair degree of accuracy, the famous 19th century world atlases were the next logical development. And notable among them was Bartholomew's *Times Atlas of the World*.

In 1922 another great *Times Atlas of the World*, prepared by Bartholomew and Sons, was published and the maps were vastly improved in terms of accuracy by aerial photography and more sophisticated survey methods. Nor was it superseded until 1955 when Dr John Bartholomew prepared for *The Times* a 'mid-century' edition in 5 volumes.

Geodimeters and tellurometers which measured distance by transference of light and radio waves furthered the accuracy of atlases.

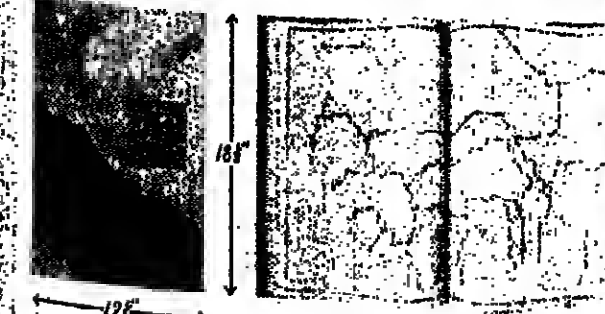
These improvements have culminated in what promises to be the greatest of them all, *The Times Atlas of the World 1972 Comprehensive Edition*.

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# The age of silver

THE COLONIAL period Mexico was colonized in greater depth than any other part of Spain's American empire. It experienced massive proselytization by the missionary orders and supported a top-heavy religious establishment; it bore the brunt of Spanish immigration to the New World and suffered a disastrous demographic decline which saddened the country with unprofitable backwardness of vast extension, moulding social attitudes which persisted into the twentieth century.

By 1800 the wealth of New Spain for outstripped all other parts of the Spanish Empire: a rich man from Caracas or even Lima would have passed unnoticed in Mexico City with its glittering vice-regal court. The basis of this wealth was, of course, silver. New Spain was a silver economy: in the sixteenth century the lure of silver provided the major motive behind frontier expansion into the semi-arid wastes of the north where provisioning the mining centres created a dependent agricultural and pastoral economy to supply their needs; silver profits made the fortunes of penurious immigrants and consolidated those of the creole elite; silver financed the most lavish church-building programme in the Western world and subsidized the huge fortresses of the Caribbean which were the visible witness of eighteenth-century Spain's reviving power. These quarters of the imperial revenue came from New Spain and between a fifth and a quarter of this from the single mining city of Guanajuato. The scale of this vast silver enterprise is epitomized by the huge rectangular shaft 1,600 feet deep and more than thirty feet across of the Valenciana mine, which is still being worked today. In the city itself the contrast between creole pragmatism and Bourbon rationality is conveyed in the juxtaposition of ornate baroque churches and the austere Alhóndiga which was to serve as the main arsenal of Ríto, the last Spanish stronghold, slaughtered there in the frenzied Indian rising of 1810.

In spite of silver's crucial importance it has not attracted the attention it deserves from historians. Now, however, two monographs by British historians, published in the Cambridge Latin American series—the most impressive visible evidence of the reviving academic interest in Latin America in this country—enable us to study in detail the two colonial silver booms. The first, by P. J. Bakewell, examines Zacatecas, which dominated silver mining from its discovery in 1546 to its decline in the 1640s; the second, by D. A. Brading, studies Guanajuato from its zenith in the mid-eighteenth century to its decline in the era of independence, as part of a wider study of Bourbon Mexico. A third, shorter study in the same series, by Brian R. Hammett, analyses the mechanics of the cochinita trade, New Spain's second most important export, and traces the interlocking of political and economic factors in Oaxaca before and during the independence movement.

These three studies, all deeply researched in Mexican and Spanish archives, are valuable additions to our understanding of the long-term development of the economy, social structure and political tensions in New Spain, illustrating the differences between the three most important geographical areas of economic activity. Zacatecas, the frontier town, dominated Mexican mining for 200 years and was the springboard for further penetration of the north. The absence of secondary Indians gave rise to a free labour system, which was to be a distinctive feature of the Mexican mining economy in contrast to Upper Peru, which was largely dependent on *mita* labour, Guanajuato, the sixteenth-century boom town, was the major centre of the silver economy, and the major source of New Spain's wealth. This area with tensions arising from disparities of wealth, was to be the cradle of the independence movement. Oaxaca, in the south and an area of secondary cultivation, was a centre of secondary villager Indians. Here the *repatriation* was still operated by the *alcaldes mayores*, the lords of the kingdom—under-

paid Crown officials who could implement their salaries by acting as agents for Mexico City merchants in exploiting the local Indian population.

Zacatecas was the touchstone of New Spain's economy in the sixteenth century as Guanajuato was to be in the eighteenth century. Dr Bakewell establishes the timing, causes and duration of Zacatecas's silver boom as well as questioning the widely accepted view of New Spain's "century of depression" deriving from the works of Ibarra, Chavarría and Chantun. These have argued that the falling-off in the Atlantic trade in the opening decades of the seventeenth century was a major consequence of a labour crisis following on the sixteenth-century population catastrophe. But Dr Bakewell convincingly demonstrates that the labour shortage did not affect Zacatecas silver production, which only began to fall in the 1630s. The free labour system which had developed in a frontier area of labour scarcity consisted of a small, skilled work-force which made mining imperious to population fluctuations. Decline was not due to these but to the Crown's diversion of the crucial mercury supplies to Peru at the same time as it demanded payment of the miners' debts. Zacatecas did not revive until the end of the seventeenth century, when finance could be internally generated and the mercury supply was restored. By 1800 it was third in the volume of its production although, unlike Guanajuato, it was never financially autonomous.

Dr Bakewell argues that the qualitative differences between New Spain's economy in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when a capitalist economy had replaced the earlier largely subsistence economy, dependent on Indian labour service, make it unrealistic to talk loosely in terms of a "seventeenth-century depression". Seventeenth-century Mexico has not been sufficiently studied for Dr Bakewell to do more than conjecture about the causes for the decline in trade, but he argues that economic decline cannot be deduced from population decline without

P. J. BAKEWELL: *Silver Mining and Society in Colonial Mexico, Zacatecas 1546-1700* 244pp. £5.

D. A. BRADING: *Miners and Merchants in Bourbon Mexico 1763-1810* 382pp. £5.20.

BRIAN R. HAMMETT: *Politics and Trade in Southern Mexico 1750-1821* 214pp. £3.80.

Cambridge University Press.

knowing considerably more than we do about the relative productivity of labour. If the view is correct that Spanish imports dropped not because of an economic depression in New Spain but because it had become more self-sufficient and a discriminating customer, traditional assumptions about the inefficiency of the *hacienda* will have to be revised.

John Lynch has recently argued that in the seventeenth century there was a shift in the economic centre of gravity within the Empire to Spanish America. Although this view can be overstated, nativistic economic development was not followed by political devolution. Such hopes were dashed by the Bourbon reforms, which subjected New Spain to more radical and efficient exploitation. The exigencies of internal reform in Spain itself, combined with the rising challenge from British power in North America and the Caribbean, which reached a climax in the reforms initiated by José Gálvez,

Dr Hammett's study of Oaxaca usefully complements Dr Brading's more general analysis of these administrative reforms. By concentrating on the centre of Spanish power in southern Mexico, Dr Hammett is able to show how the reformers' attempts to break the hold of Mexico City merchants over the underpaid local Spanish administrators required some accommodation with local creole interests. But it was not the Bourbon intention to

take power away from peninsular merchants and hand it over to creoles but rather to play off one group of peninsulars against another and to work out compromises with established interests. Neither peninsulars nor creoles were in fact satisfied nor did the Indians, the main sufferers from the previous collusion between merchants and administrators, benefit from the reforms. At the same time as creoles had little to gain from reforms imposed in the name of efficiency and fiscal necessity they had much to lose from the new wave of Spanish immigration, which emerges in Dr Brading's book as a distinctive feature of the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Unlike the windfall seekers of earlier years, the newcomers were peasant *hacendados* from northern Spain—Basques and Navarrese from Santander; spartan, parsimonious and unlike the stereotypical *hacendados*, they were avid to transform their noble pretensions into cash terms by hard work. Aided by family or provincial ties they often started their career as apprentice clerks in merchant houses until taken into partnership or married by rich creole heiresses, whose penchant for Spanish husbands, even if poor, rather than rich creoles put the seal on many an immigrant's rise to fortune. "Far from being pioneers," Dr Brading comments, "these immigrants entered a semi-hereditary, virtually endogamous, mercantile and entrepreneurial elite. In many senses it was these men rather than the great landowners and miners who formed New Spain's true aristocracy."

Here, at least, is one point of contact with what was occurring in North America. Some of Dr Brading's most interesting pages are those which contrast creole and immigrant gentilities, helping to explain the post-independence hatred of the *gauchistes* as well as those social attitudes which were to inhibit economic growth and frustrate political endeavour.

During the eighteenth century there was no shortage of strictures about the creoles' lack of entrepreneurial ability. They were distinguished by "languid inertia" and, in one view,

"they despise the Indians and breeds and, ashamed of their vices and dissipation, entertain secret aversion to, and envy of, Europeans, who by their toil, industry and energy enjoy considerable comfort." Creole intolerance was a simple matter of character; they had derived from a social milieu which closed most doors of advancement to them. They were denied the benefits of an "active position" in Indian society, phrase excluded from all but the posts in the bureaucracy. Prof. Brading's own ingenuities. In outline, the rising number of immigrants and isolated after the death were restricted by the Spaniards in 2—an intense relationship, classism and credit was difficult to obtain his sister Ann. Together they are in the vital bond of *confianza* dissolved in literally picking up, out of

In such a society mining was a joint relationship with. This shows it tended to attract itself, to whom all of the world, including impoverished. Fortunes could be made and Ann became lovers, with Val being a remedy that more ship—striking up an odd relationship killed than cured. Land may yet resentful, since towards the hut it was also a cause of creole when gradually languishes. After a carapace in time of economic separation, the three came to a union it was an unfruitful marriage. Russell is no longer Ann's lover: Val, class. Tithes, taxes, inheritance, proved too overpowering for Russell ensured that few landed families could be anything more than Ann's pet. The third generation, the psychology of this tale is *hacienda*, observes Dr Brading, and its outcome ring true "was a sink through which a sound interesting. But what Mr Brading has done with it is write a series of brief scenes in which the slowly dissipated and to be a pair of the trio, or all three, come slyly transferred into the effervescence of settings: flats, beaches, stations, night clubs. Yet the scenes are not real—Mr Plante's desire to portray a real world is only minimal.

If the inefficiency of the eighteenth-century *hacienda* was exaggerated it would seem to deny its productive inefficiency witnessed in the eighteenth century by the disastrous famines documented by the researcher Enrique Florescano, which Mexico at intervals throughout the century and which were to reach a peak in the 1800-10. Dr Bakewell's and Dr Brading's books, underlie what the Americans have long felt to be a major research need—detailed studies of particular *haciendas* together with the family histories of their owners.

DAVID PLANTE: *Relatives* 223pp. Cope. £1.95.

David Plante increasingly gives the impression of a talented writer some- how trapped by the elaborateness of his own ingenuities. In outline, the rising number of immigrants and isolated after the death were restricted by the Spaniards in 2—an intense relationship, classism and credit was difficult to obtain his sister Ann. Together they are in the vital bond of *confianza* dissolved in literally picking up, out of

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TONY ASPLER: *The Streets of Askelud* 299pp. Secker and Warburg. £2.

It may be true (as Al Alvarez once suggested) that poets are likely to resemble the man next door—or even be the man next door; in novels, though, they are almost bound to be roaring boys, and Bart Shea, the hero of Tony Aspler's book, is no exception. A sort of Dylan, Behan, he has boozed, brawled and foreclosed his way across America on one of those legendary reading tours which seem to provide cocktail-party guests with an almost limitless fund of anecdotes; the poetry is a side explosion to the oxymoron of the Frenchman in the carport and the bruised locks of the hostess that get the consequences. In the event the little harm to anyone but himself. But if the Americans owe to de la Roche a nuclear war would be less easily forgiven water levels of the Atlantic Pacific are not the same, and marine ecology is totally different. A level canal would have unpredictable effects on the atmosphere. Judging by persistence in the event took ten years to do. 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